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ABSTRACT

To test the feasibility of using case study techniques in national evaluations, the case study approach was used to study the experiences of a boy and a girl in each of eight Head Start curricular models and two children in a classroom not under the sponsorship of a program developer. Teachers and mothers were also interviewed. The purpose of the study was to capture the children's experiences in the different settings, not to evaluate the model itself. Summaries of case studies of 16 children are presented. Classroom observers agreed on these findings: (1) the Head Start experience is valuable to the children; (2) there is not enough contact between the home and the school; (3) concentration on cognitive aspects of the model tends to make teachers less aware of other important aspects of the child's life; (4) the models restricted the teachers in tailoring the program to the individual child; and (5) in many instances the curriculum seems better geared to boys. Investigators concluded that the case study approach is feasible. A final section comments on the functioning of the models and the extent to which Head Start goals are being met. (NH)

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STUDY OF SELECTED CHILDREN IN HEAD START PLANNED VARIATION, 1969-70

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FIRST YEAR REPORT

3 - CASE STUDIES OF CHILDREN

PROJECT HEAD START was organized in 1965 to increase opportunities for preschool children of the poor by providing an environment in which each child has the opportunity to develop his full potential. As a comprehensive program, it offers such children a variety of services. Each local Head Start program must include the following components: Health, nutrition, education, psychological and social services, parent involvement and volunteer participation. The emphasis Head Start has placed in programming for each of these areas has given substantial impetus to the development and application of innovative approaches to the delivery of early childhood services.

In 1969 a major experimental program called Planned Variation, funded and coordinated by the Office of Child Development was initiated within the framework of Head Start's education component under the direction of the Senior Education Specialist and her staff. Designed for the first year to provide information about implementation of various preschool curricula in the Head Start classroom, the evaluation of the program was contracted to Stanford Research Institute under the O.C.D. direction of the Evaluation Branch.

Despite many difficulties, the first year project was successfully completed because of the help and cooperation of many people: Richard E. Orton, Associate Director of the Bureau of Head Start and Child Service Programs, Richard Armstrong, then Deputy Associate Director, Mary McLean of the Education Component, Follow-Through personnel, Office of Child Development Regional staff, modellers and their staff, Planned Variation consultants, and Head Start directors, teachers, aides, parents and children.

It should be noted that the Office of Child Development and Project Head Start place firm emphasis on good preschool practices. They do not prescribe curricula or suggest that local programs adopt a "model" for their educational component. We expect, however, that Planned Variation will provide important information for child development programs.

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FOREWORD

This supplementary report to the Interim Report, "Implementation of Planned Variation in Head Start," March 1971, was excerpted from the full report prepared by Dr. Laura L. Dittmann et al., Institute for Child Study, University of Maryland, under contract with SRI.

The report by Dr. Dittmann, "A Study of Selected Children in Head Start" was deposited at the ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education, 805 W. Pennsylvania Avenue, Urbana, Illinois 61811. Inquiries about obtaining the full report should be addressed to ERIC.

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I THE CASE STUDY EXPERIMENT

The experiences of children in nine Head Start classrooms, a boy and a girl in each of eight curricular models and two children in a group not under the sponsorship of a program developer, were recorded by observation and interview. The field work for this experiment in the case study method as an adjunct to national evaluation was largely confined to two-day visits by the observers to each center in early winter and again in late spring of 1970. This method seemed to hold promise in identifying characteristics or qualities of experience that are significant in the development of the child other than those measured by the data Stanford Research Institute collected to secure information on developmental areas not usually tapped in standardized testing procedures. The selected children were studied through the case study approach that has been used for a number of years by the Institute for Child Study, College of Education, University of Maryland. In addition, the observers interviewed the Head Start teaching staff and the mothers of the children. Ratings were made on the Schaefer Classroom Behavior Inventory.

The effort to identify and measure affective and motivational factors has long concerned researchers in the fields of education and psychology. This attempt must be regarded as a pilot study to test the feasibility of using case study techniques in national evaluations. The sample of 16 children is small and unsystematic selection may have reduced any modal quality so that generalizations are tenuous.

A boy and a girl in a classroom of each model, and one additional classroom, were selected as subjects for the case studies. The purpose of this study was to try to capture the experience of two children in the different settings, not to evaluate the model itself. For these reasons, none of the statements made should be interpreted as endorsement or criticism of any of the models.

During the second year of the study, a longer observation period and a large number of randomly selected subjects may provide stronger bases for generalizations. With these reservations in mind, the observers agreed on the following findings:

(1) The observers feel that all the children are better off in Head Start than without the program. In spite of the criticisms, the missed opportunities, and the failure to follow up on

medical or psychological leads, the Head Start experience clearly provides many basic values to these children. Among the benefits are good food, regularly served; the stimulation of being with other children and adults; a focus for the day; and broadened community contacts. This kind of finding is not well documented in the case studies; it is always easier to spot the omission or the failure than to write down the glorious success. Rarely recorded, for example, is the moment when the Head Start children trooped out to a waiting school bus to go on a railroad trip. At the door across the street stood three children, two little girls and a boy of about five. The girls, caught up in the movement of the other children, waved gaily. The little boy, not knowing where the other children were going but very aware that he was <u>not</u>, struggled to hold back his tears.

(2) Classroom personnel often know very little about the life of the child outside of the classroom and of the pressures and changes within the family, even in models where parent involvement is built into the model. When parents are involved in the program, the output seems to go from the teacher to the parent rather than as feedback from home to school.

(3) Concentration on cognitive aspects of the model seems to focus the vision of the teacher on the ramifications and expectations of the model. There is a tendency for teachers to be less aware of other important aspects of the child's life.

(4) The models tend to place a restriction on the teacher. When children exceeded the expectations of the model makers, teachers seemed unable to go beyond the curriculum to extend the opportunities; when children were not keeping up to the expectations of the curriculum, the teachers became irritated or angry with them or were unable to provide for them in ways more meaningful to them.

(5) In many instances the curriculum of the school seems better geared to boys. In the last half of the year the girls seemed to reach a plateau or drift downwards in general involvement and output, whereas the boys began to become involved and productive.

At the end of the study the observers reached these conclusions:

(1) It is feasible to use a case study approach. It could be extended to four children per classroom.

(2) It is possible to modify and develop instruments such as the Schaefer Classroom Behavior Inventory to enhance data collection.

(3) The observational case study approach, in conjunction with seminars held by the observers, allows for the discovery of factors that affect the quality of Head Start programs other than those usually tapped. The team became aware of such concerns as the point at which the model itself becomes subverted. Adult preoccupations were seen to interfere with the performance of the model and the growth of the child: Are we going to get refunded? Who will the director be next year? Role and relationships between teachers and aides. The burden of filling out records.

(4) Predetermined testing procedures do not always fit the model or the child.

(5) A particular model is not always a good "fit" for a child or teacher: the child's life style may be more functional in some models than in others or a given teacher's style may cause her to function less comfortably in one model than another.

The case studies themselves provide the documentation for these findings. These cannot be reproduced in full because of their length and the confidentiality of the material shared with the observers by parents and teachers. Most of the children were cordial and welcoming to the observers, basking in their personal interest. It would be unethical to reproduce their confidences, so trustingly shared; consequently, only brief summaries are given and all names are changed. In this supplementary report to the SRI Interim Report, further abridgement has been made so that the summaries that follow do not contain the anecdotal material on which statements are based. In each instance, however, effort has been given to the selection of representative material so that an undistorted picture of the child and the setting will emerge.

II SUMMARIES OF HEAD START CASE STUDIES

Case Study Number 1

Melvin

Melvin, in May, continues to be one of the more vigorous, energetic children in this Head Start classroom. He is coordinated and skillful in using his body. He has been absent only three days during the entire year.

His friendships have intensified and broadened although his status within the family seems the same--he is less favored than his younger brother, the object of mother's doting.

The values of his social milieu are anti-intellectual. His mother blames herself for her children's lack of success in school and does not emphasize Melvin as the exception. Melvin was observed to be very rule conscious in January, but now his teacher reports he increasingly disregards rules and ignores her attempts to enforce them. No transgressions were noted in the classroom, and he seemed to have an easy relationship with his teacher. The quality of his relationships at home, with his mother claiming chronic illness and participating only nominally in parent activities, remains obscure.

Melvin has risen in status to be the undisputed leader of the boys of his classroom. He continues to interact intensely but differs from his peer group in his indifference to the cognitive activities of the model. Melvin's leadership seems to rest partly on his capacity to initiate and carry out complicated cooperative plans and he easily elicits the collaboration of others in his enterprises. This social organization exists in spite of the model and is possibly the course of conflict with the teacher, for Melvin is indeed her rival in dominance (in the view of the shadow-like aide in this class).

Melvin seems to have changed in the direction of consolidating earlier intellectual gains. His relative standing has risen in the estimate of the teacher. His alertness is more salient and he is able to retain details of experience over time. His obviously high sense of autonomy that stems from his leadership role frees him to experiment freely with

situations and people. Although he is manipulative in achieving these ends, he readily gains the collaboration of others. His view of himself seems enhanced, and he has high self-esteem, obtaining gratification in spite of and outside of the learning experiences afforded by the model. Melvin's teacher's perception of him is that he is capable of doing all cognitive activities.

School has helped Melvin with a bedwetting problem at home. It has also provided him with an area to utilize his abundant physical energy in the service of his dominance needs. Melvin seems to have improved in adjustment since January in spite of his unusual physical symptoms of vomiting and headache, and he appears less aggressive with peers. He is perhaps somewhat more fluent and assertive toward adults, which makes him less easy to control. His overdevelopment in the direction of dominance is accompanied by sensitivity to the feelings of others.

Melvin has had a successful experience in this Head Start classroom and has risen in relative status and acceptance from an initially high level. Factors in his success with peers intensify conflicts with teacher, who, however, still sees him positively. The observer is not convinced of his confidence in the area of achievement stipulated by the model. Insistence in kindergarten that he come through with acquisition of new, formal learning may create discrepancy in Melvin's self-image and teacher perception, should she not obtain his cooperation.

Joan

Joan's physical rate of maturation seems to be average. She has been observed and reported to eat a great deal and thus continues to have a fairly high rate of energy output that overflows in some characteristic restlessness when she cannot move around. She is in excellent health and is making progress in gross motor coordination, whereas in January she was moderately handicapped by pigeon-toes and poorly fitting shoes that caused her to fall frequently. The residual of this problem is noted by her teacher when she "clowns around."

The greatest change in Joan's life seems to be in her family constellation. She, alone of the children, has decided to change her name to that of her new stepfather. He is very committed to Head Start, which is connected in his thinking with the inculcation of social responsibility and citizenship, and especially improvement of cognitive functions--memory in particular.

Her display of physical aggression in relating to the examiner and aggressive attacks on the mother puppet, plus displays of impatience with her teacher that were not seen in January, indicate there have been changes in her skill in social relationships--toward less impulse control, more socially unacceptable behavior, and negativism. Her formerly warm relationship with the teacher seems to have cooled on the teacher's part and the same thing seems to have happened with the aide. She reports less play with her sister and may have a position of increased isolation in the family. She may be involved in a marital tangle since she frequently mentions her "other mother."

Cultural factors have intensified in importance in Joan's life because of the family's upward mobility. Her father perceives Joan as the recipient of beneficial pressures. However, her teacher was observed to be less attentive to her and seemed under strain and uncomfortable as a demonstration teacher, and Joan's mother has retreated in participation in the program in contrast to her eagerness to assist in January.

Joan's play with her peers characteristically is association, and this seems a function of the model since few opportunities for cooperative play occur and little was observed outside of verbal interchange. Children were noted often correcting each other.

Joan was more often observed being corrected than giving feedback and thus seems to have drifted or dropped in status. Teacher and aide often stated that others were brighter and meeting achievement expectations more fully, implying that Joan has missed the mark. Because of the extreme achievement orientation of the teachers, learning seems to take place invariably in a competitive context of pairs or threes of learners grouped around apparati. There is a flat quality to Joan's manner in relating to peers; she often initiates but rarely is followed. The classroom is female dominated since only two boys were attending.

Joan's teacher was vague about her developmental status in January and now is still defensively so--Joan is "about average." However, the aide is more open about the lack of progress in the cognitive area. Joan indeed seems to have hit a plateau. She has trouble retaining learning and is no longer exploring the skills of symbolizing meaning. She has, on the other hand, grasped concepts of serial order and can translate numbers into units. She seems to regard the function of the many machines around her as a mystery and spends a good deal of time being frustrated in her attempts to influence objects and people in her environment. She tends to be emotionally constricted and only after carefully exploring limits can she be expressive using unstructured materials;

she is less free than in January. Her concept of self seems to reflect diminished self-esteem and fewer interests--pets, creative activities, play with sister--than in January.

Joan's memory difficulties may reflect the beginning of feelings of inadequacy in the face of pressure to achieve at home. In school she is generally well adjusted, with variation in mood on "her days," suggesting that situational factors at home may be a factor. Mother continues to complain about her attention seeking and crying at home; thus the school has not helped Joan gain acceptance at home. It is the observer's distinct impression Joan is headed in the direction of confusion in identity. Her lessened friendliness, display of overt aggression, and lessened persistence in the face of frustration in the classroom suggest that she is being made aware of deficiencies and at the same time she is less able to elicit acceptance and warmth from adults around her.

Case Study Number 2

Harold

Head Start has apparently been a happy experience for Harold and on the basis of this initial experience with teachers he will begin next year in kindergarten without apprehension. He seems to trust adults and look to them to arbitrate problems with peers. He has a working concept of what is fair and not fair and seeks to keep the world in order on these terms. He sees himself as a male and identifies with a father (his own, or the father of the older children, or other males in the household--exactly which one is not clear).

His teacher observed that he had little adjusting to do to fit into a society of children, but his relationships to other boys in the classroom seems to have become more tolerant. He can sustain a high degree of dramatic play with them and may have improved his social skills in general.

He does not panic when no one calls for him at the time others are picked up. He has realistic (for the age) concepts of money and its power. He has been able to meet the expectations for him this year held by his mother and teachers.

Harold has been protected from ridicule of his speech difficulty, but the psychologist who tested him is reported to have been impatient with his slowness in answering the test items. As time goes by he will probably encounter more difficulty in communication in terms of school expectations. If so, it is to be hoped that more specific assistance

can be given to him. No progress was made in the school on working on this very pronounced difficulty.

The teachers in the Head Start Center see him as reliable and stable in looking after his twin brothers, age three, at the end of the day as they await someone to pick him up.

He is regarded as a favorite by his mother, who tries to make up for the lack of attention given to him by his father.

Harold keeps his feelings rather well hidden, and he does not easily express joy or hurt. He has feelings and is aware of them, however, and as the observer came to know him somewhat better, he shared his feelings about the stay in the hospital, about the too-short hair cut, the loss of a tooth, and other important events. Perhaps he has become less stoic and accepting of hurt during the year and is somewhat more open.

Harold is a self-directed child and keeps himself busy in the areas where he is interested. He has done little with creative materials and there were no paintings posted in his spot on the bulletin board at the last visit in May. The program has not made demands on him to increase the spheres of activity and he has stayed in much the same play areas. He was pushing trucks in November and continued pushing trucks in May. There may have been increasingly complex social involvement in his play with others but not in areas of interest.

Trying to imagine what the year would have been like for Harold without Head Start leads one to conclude that the experience has been a great asset although no progress has been made with his speech disorder. If his mother could not have worked in Follow Through, she would have been more depressed and given less to the 13 children, judging from her statements after being home for a week with an ailing twin in May. Beyond this rather negative statement, one can see that school has rich opportunities with materials and with playmates in a supervised setting. Harold seems happier and less stoically ready to fight for every inch.

Sandy

In this school year Sandy has accepted other adults as nonthreatening and has become content at school in the absence of her mother. She continues to evidence a somewhat infantile dependence on an adult, finding a way to be beside the teacher at any structured time of the day. Typically, she stands with her forefinger of her right hand deep in her mouth, looking at what the other children are doing. In recent months she occasionally enters into a fantasy reproduction of elements of television programs

but these are not social thrusts and other children cannot enter into them. She does not appear to have friends and is in a parallel play phase.

She has a strong affectional tie to her sisters and is proud of them, showing more animation in their presence than at any other time.

She seems to be quite dependent on others to intervene for her and would seem to regard the world as benign, autocratic, and to be dealt with passively.

At the outset, her teacher believed that Sandy might be mentally retarded. This view has changed dramatically, although she still feels that Sandy needs special handling next year in kindergarten.

Her mother feels that she is doing very well and is pleased with her progress at school. Unlike most mothers who serve as volunteers in the school, Mrs. Simmons does not give a great many specific directions to her child when she is present (she doesn't talk at all). Mrs. Simmons hopes that Sandy will become, perhaps, a nurse, but this seems unrelated to Sandy's capacities or individual interests and is possibly a projection of her own wishes for herself.

Sandy is to a large extent ignored by the other children in the group. They pass in front of her or move around her as she stands or waits for a turn.

The sisters smile and express acknowledgment of Sandy but are not so openly excited by her presence (they are older). In contrast to Sandy's behavior, the sister observed with her second-grade class on a field trip was busy playing a folk game, knew the rules, and was obviously an integral part of the group of her classmates as they waited for the train.

Sandy has moved from tearful outbursts when her mother left her at school to a calm acceptance of school and her mother's comings and goings. She has days of moody irritability and will cry for reasons no one understands. She clings to adults and shows exploitive dependency in relation to them. Because of this immature behavior one is always surprised at the clarity of her speech, the fast speech pattern, and the good vocabulary. It is almost as if an 18-month-old child suddenly began to recite the Declaration of Independence. The teacher noted with pleasure that Sandy moved to defend herself physically when a boy threw dirt at her on the playground.

Sandy seems to have moved into conformity to school ways and expectations but does not show real initiative or autonomous functioning except in dawdling or passively negative ways. She comes to life in a one-to-one relationship (as with the observer in conversation or puppet play) but seems to be responding to the interest of the adult rather than to problem solving of any intellectual elements in the world. In McClelland's terms, she seems to be more involved in affiliative needs than in achievement.

Sandy has learned to accept school routines and the teacher as an authority/nurturant person. She has been taken on field trips, of which the railroad trip was summarized by her as: "I didn't want to get on that train." She has been given an opportunity to work puzzles, hear stories, learn opening song rituals and other singing games, and explore art materials.

Her progress in social techniques with children of her own age has been minimal. The question of her heart murmur remains unanswered. Neither the school nor the mother has moved to get another appointment for her.

Case Study Number 3

Susie

Susie is a robust, healthy, well-coordinated five-year-old. She is very autonomous in the sense that she finds objects in the environment that attract and interest her and moves toward manipulating them. She cannot be seduced or coerced by other children into activities she does not wish to participate in. She will follow most teacher directions that relate to program activities. However, she is not as receptive to suggestions or demands of the teachers about her social behavior. She does approach and talk to both the teacher and teacher aide on a social basis and seems to have identified rather strongly with the female sex role, including the role of teacher. She seems highly task oriented in regard to the cognitive aspects of the program.

At the time of the second visit Susie appeared to the observer as having reached a plateau or sliding slightly down. She is still doing essentially the same things but with less intensity. She tends to be alone, sitting on a tricycle. Formerly, when alone she worked on cognitive materials; formerly the teacher viewed her as stubborn. Now she is less of a "pain in the neck." "She is not the problem she was when she

first came." When asked about her prognosis for Susie's success in the following years in school, the teacher believed she "would do all right if her home problems don't block her."

The mother, in the interval, seems much concerned about difficulties with her older boys and has not given much thought to any changes in Susie's development since the last visit. Her report of Susie's activities, behavior at home, and so on remains essentially the same. She says that Susie continues to like Head Start and is looking forward to going to kindergarten next year.

Susie apparently came to the Head Start program possessing a good deal of personal autonomy. On the first visit she seemed to make decisions about her personal activities with relative ease. She seemed positively aggressive in peer group activities, initiating role play and obtaining high status roles. She was an initiator of interpersonal relations with six individuals, both boys and girls. On the second visit Susie's behavior would seem to indicate a decrease in these parameters. She spends less time with the curriculum materials and seems to work with them listlessly, as opposed to rather active interest on the first visit. She does not initiate as many interactions with her classmates and was observed to be alone a good portion of the time. She plays the higher status but more dependent roles.

Susie is capable of expressing anger when other children interfere with her "personal program." She usually does this by shouting and threatening or actually striking other children. On the first visit she was noted to express some positive affect for her teacher and the aide in her attempts to be close to them but she did not evidence any touching, hugging, or personal contact. On the second visit it appeared that this affective bond may be somewhat loosened since she remains at a distance from these figures. The situations where Susie exhibits most violent emotion seem to occur when she cannot be with her mother after her mother has been at school and also when she does not want to follow the directions of the center personnel. She is characterized as becoming "stubborn" and sometimes having temper tantrums with crying if she cannot get her own way. However, the most violent outbursts occur when the mother has been at school and leaves without Susie. Perhaps Susie is experiencing some rather strong anxiety about being rejected by her mother that is related to the uproar with her older half-brother.

When she was first seen, Susie appeared to perceive her world of the Head Start center as an interesting and somewhat exciting place. She engaged eagerly in most activities and seemed to enjoy them (both curricular and interpersonal). Susie appears to see her teacher and assistant

teacher as people who help in providing some interesting activities but not as sources of much emotional support.

The mother perceives Susie quite positively and has made positive evaluations of this girl in the area of her relationships with her siblings, all older. The mother also reports a positive relationship between Susie and her father. The mother expects that Susie will do well in school, although she does admit to "some stubbornness" on her part. Susie's teachers see her as an average girl of good health but with "home problems" that may give her difficulty in further achievement in school. The teachers see Susie as a "problem child" because of her "stubborn streak," although they believe progress has been made in getting her to follow directions.

For some reason the Head Start experience in May does not seem to hold the joy, pleasure, and excitement that Susie was experiencing earlier. The quality of her peer group interactions seems to have deteriorated. Her interest in the curriculum materials is much less evident than on the earlier visit. Her withdrawal and emotional responses suggest the possibility of concerns over her security (possibly due to the family difficulty with the older half-brother).

Lewin

Indeed Lewin's behavior does indicate considerable change since the first visit. He spends very little time with fingers in mouth. In the period since the visit, he has managed to learn how to eat in a fashion that is not grossly aberrant. He engages in more cooperative play with his classmates, and the quality of interaction would seem to indicate that he recognizes them as other individuals and not objects similar to building blocks. With his peers Lewin is able to participate in the role-playing games. During this visit, in addition to playing school the children also played "church." Lewin was pressed by the group into the role of preacher, and stood in front of the congregation telling them to sing songs and giving a short sermon.When another child tried to horn in on Lewin's role of preacher, Lewin, with Christian love, socked him on the shoulder and told him to sit down. Members of the congregation said, "Yes, sit down, David, or get out of here."

Lewin still hurls himself through space, but does not wander and stroll during large-group or small-group activities as was observed on

the previous visit. He was observed this time participating in the songs and pantomimes at a level equal to that of the other children.

He was observed actively participating with the cognitive curriculum materials, and even on his own worked with puzzles and pegboards.(This is in contrast to no observed autonomous participation on the previous visit, and only tentative low-voiced, downcast-head participation when directly questioned by the teacher. In May, Lewin approached and talked directly to the observer without the downcast eyes, hung head, and whispery voice. He is now much more actively engaged in available activities and initiates a number of his own. It would seem that both his mother and his teacher perceive positive growth.

During the periods of observation, it appears that Lewin has always been capable of expressing anger toward other children who interfere with him. This is usually done by shouting and hitting. It would appear that he feels much more trusting of adults generally, and seems to gain some pleasure from interacting with them. He apparently does not need reassurance and emotional support from his mother, and is now able to operate with other children - is the star in role-playing - and with the cognitive materials provided in the program. He apparently gets over both anger and negative feelings rather quickly.

Case Study Number 4

Davy

Davy follows his own ideas; this is most visible in the area of crafts. He selects his material and tends to proceed in rather unusual ways; he does not wait for adult suggestions but begins and continues on his own momentum. Out of the school setting Davy seems to be responsible for himself. His mother works and thus there is little adult supervision. Davy moves freely from one activity to another without direction. Difficulty seems to have arisen when teacher goals and Davy goals were not identical; Davy was often unwilling to join group time. The learning center approach that this model is attempting to implement is helpful to Davy for he can be the master of the activity. Davy seems able to care for himself physically; he is not inhibited about asking for and taking large helpings of food.

Davy talks freely and confidently with adults; he is very receptive to strangers, engaging them in conversation. His warm toothless greeting (front teeth missing due to a fall before coming to Head Start) breaks the ice. Davy is quick to make a demand: "give me money," or "give me

candy," and persistent. He runs, climbs, shouts, and approaches all activities with a full supply of energy. Davy tends to seek out boy-type activities (woodwork, block building); I have never seen him play in the doll corner. He identifies with the male role and wants "to be a big strong man" when he grows up. Davy will fight with others in the class, and claims that he fights with his father; he is active and aggressive, but not necessarily a bully. Davy does not like to be forced into joining group activities and tends to become disruptive at these times (music, or circle time).

Davy is friendly and warm; he has established a close and affectionate relationship with the aide. Davy will play with others, will punch someone if he feels that he is being threatened, but will also help unbuckle the raincoat of another child. Davy is a "con" artist. He begs for candy and when given one piece asks for two. He is persistent about wanting more of something. He seems to get angry less often and to sulk less than on the first visit to the center. Davy does not like to share things. When his older brother asked for a bite of his apple, Davy ran off, but returned later to offer a taste to his brother. This lack of sharing may be attributable to deprivation, especially of food in the home. Davy is able to ask adults for help but tends to prefer to do things himself.

Davy smiles easily and also flares up easily. He seems more in control of his emotions now than during the earlier visits. He is joyful, gleeful, alive, excited, and always active. One cannot help but wonder if Davy ever tires. His energy now seems to be used effectively and productively rather than disruptively as during the January visit. Davy laughs off much criticism but will sulk if emotionally hurt. Davy is never bland.

Davy is seen as bright and understanding by all and as clever and able to tantalize adults to doing what he wants. One volunteer thought Davy was a "bad boy," and "wild," and "that because of the community he'd grow up to be a Black Panther." Others thought that Davy was hard to control but that he had improved since the adoption of a learning center's curriculum. Davy was also described as very "creative." Davy will appeal to a teacher who is not determined to control every aspect of a child's life and who allows children to be noisy and active and to follow their ideas. Davy needs limits but not excessive control.

Davy sees the world as a place to create, to be active, to run and to shout. School is a place where you pursue your "own thing." Davy is strongly identified with school. When he was out because of surgery, he

would sit on the steps at his house and watch the other children. "Where you going?" (as if to imply, you are forgetting me). He returned to school two days after surgery and had to be sent home till his stitches were removed. Davy cried about having to leave school. Adults are people you can get things from (money, candy, puppets, toys). "Can I have this?" The world is also a place where you can have a warm, cuddly relationship with an aide when you want it, or a place where someone will smile and praise your painting.

Daisy

Daisy is a child who is growing, but it is hard to pinpoint any changes. She is talkative, seeks the teacher's approval (she did a puzzle and took it immediately to the teacher), and can share--but not too much.

Daisy follows her inclinations but tends to be observant of the activities of others. She conforms to the teacher's expectations, and has formed a strong attachment for the teacher, often seeking her approval or praise. Daisy likes to do things for herself; she can dress herself, tie her shoe laces, and the like. She accepts routines, such as clearing her place without being reminded after meals or joining group time as soon as it is called. Daisy begins conversations with adults and children and makes her displeasure known when someone interferes with her activity. She was the baby in her family until this spring when her brother Lee was born.

Daisy verbalized more in May than on the January visit. She remembered and responded by smiling at this observer and by speaking to her. Daisy uses adults to find out answers to her questions and for their approval. She does not need direction in selecting an activity but tends to play in the doll corner most of the time. She is identified with the female role and plays at cooking or caring for a baby doll. On a June fishing trip Daisy found a string that she indicated she would use to fish with. At the park she found a stick and persistently waited until a hook was attached to her crude rod.

Daisy is cooperative and helpful, according to her mother. She seeks teacher praise for tasks and has accepted routines of the classroom. Daisy talks continuously during meal time and easily engages in play with others. She was willing to join this observer and sought to hold her hand on walks. She smiles readily and does not remain angry for great lengths of time.

Daisy smiles easily and is happy when approved. She becomes angry when someone takes her things and tends to use words to express her anger. Daisy is less socially withdrawn now than on the January visit. She seems to interact freely with both children and adults.

Daisy sees the world as a place that likes and cares for her. "My brother and sister care for me." "My mommy calls me baby." The family seems to be a warm and good place. The world is a place for giving and for receiving. This includes smiles and praise and friendship. Daisy's world is friendly, not hostile or rejecting.

Daisy cooperates and doesn't rock the boat. She listens, watches the teacher for cues, and tends to follow directives. She is praised for remembering songs and for catching on easily. Daisy, it is felt, will "do fine" in school.

Case Study Number 5

Gary

Gary selects his own activities (puzzles) and will complete them, although he is often distracted by the noise and action of others. Gary is not a leader; he tends to follow others when he rides his bike. He reluctantly asks for adult help and tends not to play cooperatively with other children. He plays most often with his younger brother, who is also in this program. He tends to be disruptive with female teachers, and not to cooperate. Gary seems to know right from wrong. He is aware that his mother does not want him to fight and that she will punish him if he fights, yet he often threatens others physically. He also claims that cursing is "bad" but can let out a stream of words that, according to his teacher, would make a sailor blush. He will tattle on others, both in school and at home. He seems to be striving to find a niche for himself between his mother's high moral demands (i.e., no cursing) and being a boy and strong. He verbalizes most often when he is angry (a good deal of the time) and uses his body aggressively.

Gary has become more cooperative now that he is under Tom's (the male aide) supervision; he tends not to be disruptive during discussion-circle time. He is unable to accept physical friendship from the staff; he is not a child who can be cuddled or held. He rarely talks freely to children or teachers. Gary verbalizes when he wants something or when he is angry. The only nondemanding talking that Gary does is when he is first to answer questions at circle time. Gary tends not to have friends

in the class. He often fights with others. Gary looks angry, sullen, unhappy, burdened, and troubled. He does not move through his world as if he trusts in it. The world is something to be aware or on-guard against. According to staff reporting, Gary desires his mother's affection but she rarely lavishes it on him. Gary's oldest brother is the one who counts at home and Gary seeks to have some of this praise. Taking pictures home to mother or showing her a book is very important.

Gary is explosive. He hits and yells at others. He rarely smiles or appears joyful. He seems to get pleasure in running his bike into the bike in front of him. "He looks like he has a chip on his shoulder." He was never observed to show affection to any child or adult in the classroom.

Gary does not like large group activities and tends to be disruptive. He prefers to engage in a self-selected activity. Much of his day is spent moving randomly about the room, observing others. He does not seek out others to play with him nor is he receptive to having others join him.

Gary is considered to be bright but unpleasant. He rebuffs advances by adults and tends to insulate himself from others by his cold exterior. The aide's comments are most revealing. "If you say hello and touch him, he pulls away. . . . He's grouchy." Although the lead teacher thinks that Gary is less explosive and has changed a lot this year, the general staff feeling is that Gary will run into trouble in school because of his attitudes and his personality. He is very defensive and nontrusting. Gary can survive in an atmosphere that emphasizes intelligence and knowing, but he will run into trouble because of his style of interacting with others.

For Gary, the world is a threatening, unfriendly place that he must defend himself against. He holds himself tightly, as if to ward off any attacks. His world lacks joy, merriment, excitement, and warm personal relationships. Home is a place where your older brother gets all the praise and is loved by your mother. Little is left for you. Mother is someone you keep trying to please but who holds your older brother up to you as a model of what is right. School is where you do things. You answer the questions asked, you work puzzles, you look at books. School is a place where you protect yourself by always appearing angry. You are ready for the attack to come, but there is no real challenge intellectually.

Mary

Mary came to school with the notion that she was going to run the place and be the teacher. According to her teachers she has begun to understand who is the boss and who is the follower. Mary still wants to do things her own way and exerts a strong influence over others. She is able to operate without teacher direction and to remain at an activity after others have left. She can be verbally or physically abusive to children who get into her way. Mary and one or two others will gang up against another child. She often threatens to "tell the teacher on you." Mary is a rule-maker but the rules all tend to be for her benefit.

Mary is open with strangers. She walks up to men on the street and throws rocks at people she does not know (claiming that "That man makes me angry"). Mary has been described as sneaky, as using other children, as knowing how to get what she wants. Mary shouts orders to others and fights with her peers. At four, she has already cut out of school by hiding in the basement of her house when the school bus arrived and returning home at the proper time after lunch. At times she will be affectionate toward her teachers, seeking their holding her. Mary does not seem to be fearful of strange situations and tends to be rather brazen as she saunters down the street. She is aggressive and rule-making plays an important role at mealtime. Mary has the capacity to work her way to the front of a line and to be first without others becoming indignant.

Mary shows a wide array of emotional states. She smiles, can be friendly, and can be quick to show anger. She is bossy, pushy, and tends to order others around. "People don't mess with Mary."

Mary is the "brains of the gang." She will suggest that her clique of friends should not talk with or play with one of the other children in the class and they will agree. Mary shows real initiative as a leader but does not appear about to harness this skill for a useful purpose. Mary has the capacity to get others involved and then she will pull out and claim not to have had anything to do with the act; thus, she remains innocent. Mary is the boss; she can do things for herself.

Mary is seen as being flirtatious and somewhat provocative. She is a boss and can be a leader. She is smart and womanly rather than child-like. It was suggested that Mary won't get too far in school, not because of lack of intelligence but because she will get involved with males and probably will not complete junior high school.

Mary sees the world as something she can manipulate. It is a place to have your own way. You control others by making the rules. You outsmart others so you get what you want. You gang up against others. The world for Mary is a woman's place. She shows strong identification with female things: lipstick, deodorant, nail polish, and the like. The world is a place where there are several men in your home. Your father, in the service, does not come home often, but mother can have boy friends.

Case Study Number 6

Billy

By May Billy has become increasingly assertive and aggressive in both actions and words. He is much more self-confident and does not hesitate to participate with other children in any activity. He has demonstrated a definite ability to hold his own.

Billy seems to have gained some trust in the world and is not nearly so withdrawn as previously. He is open with the teachers and seeks their relations. He clearly is starving for affection and warmth from adult individuals and unfortunately rarely gets it, at least in the school situation.

Billy seems to have a considerable amount of initiative, can make and carry out decisions without any difficulty. He is not directed to cognitive aspects, at least in the setting in which he was observed, but takes initiative in activities as well as in relating with people. He is not afraid to tangle with others more boisterous than he, and, if hurt, rejoins the group quickly.

Billy's emotional makeup is very hard to penetrate. When he is happy, a big smile bursts on to his face, but this is always transitory and is the only emotion he shows. At other times his facial expression is fairly blank, and his ability to express emotions verbally is nonexistent.

However, he is so affection starved that it is painful to watch. He literally latches on to any adult who comes into the room, looking for physical warmth as well as simple attention. It is unfortunate that his teacher has not been able or desirous of giving any of this to him. The aide has been some help, but her "love" has to be spread out to all 20 children.

The world has become a more friendly place for Billy. He has a good group of friends at school who are happy to have him with them. It is still, however, a very lonely place in terms of close relations. He desperately wants affection and warmth--from adults especially--and in this respect is often disappointed. Because he seems to be easy going and "good," he is often neglected and left to his own devices by adults and clearly suffers from this situation.

The world (his mother and teacher) both see Billy as a good boy who can take care of himself. He has grown considerably more aggressive in school, which has given his teacher more optimism for his future. His mother considers him bright like his older sister and does not figure she will have any trouble with him. The world sees him as a boy who will make it.

Rowena

Rowena's autonomy in one sense is fairly strong. She can amuse herself with games, projects, and the like with little, if any, direction necessary. She manages her own little world very well, yet it is her world and very few others enter it. She is not comfortable relating to other people, either peers or adults, and shies away from contact with them.

She has matured sufficiently now to be much more wary than she was in January, and though she did not object when the observer approached her, there was clearly not the same spontaneous warmth in May as in January. Her inability to enter into relations with peers further substantiates this mistrust in her attitude. She cowers when someone approaches her unexpectedly and rarely joins in an existing group without some adult sponsoring her.

Rowena's initiative for individual activities is considerable. She takes out toys and plays with them with no direction or urging. She is clearly task oriented and remains with a task for an extraordinarily long period of time for someone her age. However, she does not take initiative in an interpersonal relation at all, with adults or peers.

Rowena does not show emotions, facially, bodily, or verbally, yet it seems fairly apparent that she feels them. When she shied away from the boy who came to her playfully, it was apparent she was apprehensive yet her face remained blank and she said absolutely nothing. The only indication was her withdrawal. Similarly, when she was watching others

playing on the playground, her hand in her mouth indicated emotional tension but there was no other indication.

The world seems very frightening for Rowena at this time, almost more than she can handle. Perhaps that is why she is only marginally involved with any activity.

Her teacher sees Rowena as a very quiet, nonparticipating, withdrawn child, which agrees with the observations. However, her mother pictured her as extremely outgoing, friendly, talkative, and happy. Is this the mother's own bias or does Rowena act very differently at home? The latter is possible in view of the extreme coldness of the teacher at school.

Aside from the mother's comments, much of Rowena's behavior indicates no progress from January to May and perhaps some reversal. She is very fearful of participating with other children, withdraws often when anyone makes overtures to her, will not talk with an adult at any level, and is generally alone. One asset is her persistence in tasks to the point where she exhibits remarkable patience and perseverance. Her aloofness is probably not intentional. Her intent watching of the other children on the playground indicates a desperate desire to join and yet an inability to do so. It is unfortunate that the teachers do not deal with this.

The possibility that her mother's comments were accurate is worth at least considering. The school setting is not supportive for Rowena at all. The class is composed of several very active boys and Mrs. W. spends most of her time disciplining them and just keeping them quiet. Added to this is the fact that she is not a warm and supportive person even at best, and it may be that this situation is just more than Rowena can handle well. The situation at home may be so much more comfortable that she functions differently.

If Rowena's subsequent school experiences follow the pattern established here and she remains so quiet and nonparticipating, she will have trouble. Even if she is persistent enough to listen and finish her tasks, her lack of verbalizing is so overwhelming that it would be difficult for her to communicate her knowledge. In a repressive school environment she might make it only because she would not be disruptive, but it is obvious she would have many other problems in handling herself and her relations with others.

Case Study Number 7

Sabina and Ernest

An unusual combination of factors made the presentation of these two cases together seem expedient.

Sabina enters a room and immediately goes about the task of finding something to do to occupy her time. She is friendly with adults, follows their instructions, but seldom asks for help or approval although she shows through facial expression that she enjoyed adult attention and approval.

She follows directions unusually well both in relationship to the program instruction and in general classroom activities. The only time when she did not obey at once was on the playground when she went down the slide after the children had been told to line up. At the end of the year she seems to have learned to be a pupil and seems less creative than on the first visit.

Ernest is more inclined to wait for a few minutes as though inviting an individual reminder that he needs to conform to the demands of authority. He never goes against the wishes of the adults; it just takes him a little longer to do what has to be done.

Both children demonstrate their obedience to adult standards in ability and willingness to share and their use of set phrases in asking for help or materials. They give the impression that they know what is expected of them at school and they conform without undue pressure or fear of punishment.

Sabina demonstrates very little affection for adults; she seems to stay away from them. When playing in the play house she holds the dolls carefully and in much the same way a mother holds a child. In the anecdotal record one will find her reaching out and patting the hand of another child and receiving positive feedback from the child involved. Here seems to be a child who is used to both giving and receiving affection to the degree that she takes it for granted and does not need to seek it in the school situation.

Ernest's need for adult affection and comfort was illustrated best when he sought out the bus driver for comfort and assurance after he had hurt the child by bending back his hand. The fact that Ernest needed only a momentary squeeze to set the world right seems to indicate that he sees the adult in a supporting and affectionate role.

Occasionally one also finds Ernest reaching out for physical friendly contact with another child.

Both children have certainly developed an awareness of others and the realization that pleasure comes from both physical and emotional contact with peers and with adults.

With regard to self-concept, Sabina holds her doll in much the same manner as a mother would a baby and although she participates on the playground by playing on all the equipment, her play is not so rough nor so abandoned as the boys. Her pleasure at having her hair fixed is evident in the smile she gives when she reaches up and pats her braids. She seems to approach the nearest adult when she needs help rather than showing a preference for either male or female.

Ernest tests his physical strength as he plays on the playground and waits in the line for lunch. One would occasionally see him holding hands with another child, seeing who can squeeze the hardest. He also experiments with "dangerous" positions on the merry-go-round, swings, and slide. One has the feeling he is constantly testing his body to see what he can do and, if one is to judge by his smiles, he is pleased with what he discovers.

Ernest is very much aware that he is a boy and behaves in much the same way as any mature five-year-old boy behaves.

Both in the room and on the playgound, one sees evidence that Sabina is a silent but accepted member of small, constantly changing peer groups. She verbalizes very little but interacts through gestures and actions. She often is observed just watching the other children as they move about the room.

Ernest is an active participant in the group play involving the merry-go-round. Although unstructured play opportunities were limited, one gains the overall impression that he is much more involved in group play than in either parallel or associative. This was also brought out by his statement during the puppet experiment that if he were home he would be playing cars with his brother.

If one is to judge from outward appearance, Sabina is sure of her place in the cosmos. Not only does she give indications of belonging to a group, but she also gives the impression of being at ease when she is alone and away from the group. There was no sign of fear nor hesitancy when she was asked to lead the singing.

She seeks help when she needs it, but only after trying to achieve on her own. Sabina approaches adults and a new situation with confidence. This was evident when she willingly accompanied the observer to the office to work with puppets. She seems to feel that the world is a safe place to be and that adults are not only supporting but pleasant to be around in that they would let you work on your own but would be there to help you when you needed them.

Everything about Ernest gives the feeling that life is full of interesting things to do and of interested adults with whom they could be done. While the adults may curb some of your activities and require you to do things that have limited meaning, they are also there to help you and comfort you when you needed it. An example of the last was his willingness to go to the teacher after the bus driver had told him about bending back the boy's hand. He approaches adults with faith that he will be accepted by them. Like Sabina, he went with the observer to work with puppets without showing any fear or hesitancy.

Ernest tends to play with the more masculine toys and equipment, and his contacts with adults seem to center around the male teachers although this could be because he was more often under their direction.

According to the teacher, both children have the opportunity of spending time with both mother and father as they move through their individual daily tasks.

The culture of these children seems to encourage the feeling that adults are there to support them and that they are important persons in a safe and secure world.

Case Study Number 8

Dawn

Dawn lives with her mother, a ten-year-old sister, and a mentally retarded five-year-old brother. The father is in prison.

Dawn tends to move alone, but the observer does not view her as an autonomous, self-directed individual. This lack of involvement with others, whether individuals or groups, seems part of a pattern of lack of awareness. Whether this is physical, mental, or emotional (or any combination thereof) is not readily apparent. However, this seeming ability to block out noise and completely involve herself in a task, or

a bug crawling on the floor, or something in the scenery (she was hit by a car, she fell down a flight of stairs--both within a period of three months). . . does indicate a need for help.

There is little indication of much overt initiative. Dawn moves with suggestions and perseveres until she is redirected by adults in the center. One wonders about her lack of ability to make a decision on her own--is it lack of interest, opportunity, or experience in making them?

The first visit revealed a rather stoic, outwardly unemotional child. The second visit verified this impression. Although Dawn talks with and responds to others, she does so with little enthusiasm, anger, or sadness. At times she appears listless. The second visit revealed spurts of vigor as she ran and climbed on outdoor equipment. These actions seem more mechanical than total involvement of body and spirit. Generally, she is passive and withdrawn and this seems to have intensified rather than improved.

Dawn did not divulge in conversation, puppet play, or display any overt hostility to the world about her. Her response to adults is pleasant and cooperative. Her only show of spunk observed in the two visits was in puppet play when she showed some hostility toward her mentally retarded brother, but this was brief and of a wild nature. She definitely is letting the world and the people in it manipulate her. If her feelings are otherwise, she has developed a facade to hide them. Two visits seemed inadequate to cut through it.

Her mother seems very positive that Dawn will "make it," will survive "the hells of life." The mother appears to be a strong, insensitive woman, and the observer wonders how well she really knows her daughter. The teachers are very concerned about Dawn and feel that there has been little progress. Their expectations for her are not high, and they feel inadequate to help. "If she gets help, she may be able to cope--if she goes to kindergarten next year."

Dawn's mother would not receive the observer for a second interview and has not permitted the parent educator to come for the past two weeks.

An informal discussion was held with the teacher and the parent educators during rest time on Tuesday afternoon. The consensus was that Dawn had become much more verbal since she had started attending the Center in September. The teachers felt she seemed to learn fast but that she didn't retain and recall information well. Dawn is task oriented (if she chooses the task), is quite introverted socially, and does not

demonstrate hostility in the classroom. She is still not group oriented but has become more open and much less shy than in the fall. Her self-image still needs much building and the teachers work on this whenever possible. They question that she would have much chance for more than a high school education and at this point felt her potential is more limited than some of the other four-year-olds.

Dawn seems to have made progress out of a socially withdrawn "shell" in the Center situation. Despite a rather strong, aggressive mother who has set a pattern inconsistent with the seemingly shy, timid nature of this child, Dawn does not appear to be angry at her world or those in it. The lack of <u>any</u> emotion disturbs the observer. Is it a facade, or an attempt to gain mother's approval, or real? It seems to the observer that there is an older woman living in that child's body.

<u>Tommy</u>

Tommy seems to have had no great problems of adjustment from his home situation to the Head Start Center situation. His home is a warm family setting where he is an important figure. He has a positive self-image and seems at ease in his interactions with his peers and/or adults in the Center. There seem to be no physical, mental, or emotional problems of any kind evident. Channeling this energy and natural curiosity should keep Tom moving in a positive direction.

The consensus in January was that he had become more verbal, more "with it" intellectually, and also more mischievous since coming to the Center. The teachers felt he was very capable but that he was easily influenced by his peers. They also felt the possibilities of Tommy's going beyond high school were realistic since he has a positive attitude, seemingly good mental capacities, and the encouragement and faith of his family as well.

On the return visit in May, he was seen as a child who is doing well in all ways: talking more, less aggressive toward children, and more task oriented.

Tom has no trouble in autonomous movement in the classroom. He seems confident and self-directed and gets involved in ordinary classroom activities. He seems to gravitate to the boys and groups during free play into more gregarious and active situations.

His initiative seems to be growing. During the first visit he was active but very acquiescent to directions and suggestions. Now he is

moving more on his own. Although he can be redirected when he gets involved in less desirable actions, he tends to think and act for himself.

Tommy is a happy, outgoing little boy. He talks, laughs easily, and is enthusiastic and busy all the time. There seems to be a pervasive self-confidence in this little boy. He adjusts and copes with most situations in a positive manner.

Tommy appears to like his world and the people in it. He gives much evidence of curiosity about his world and eagerness to experiment with materials (block, art work), to observe (the birds in the cage for long spells of time), to experiment (on the swings, letting a paper float down from a high spot on the slide, building a plastic tower until it topples). He adores his father and his puppet play revealed a very happy attitude toward his family. Obviously, today, his view is positive.

Tom's parents and teachers feel he has made good progress, especially in language development and will fit in and continue to grow in all ways in kindergarten and beyond. At times they feel he is a bit too "involved and active" but attempt to channel this.

The mother states: "He will be in public school kindergarten next year and will know how to cooperate and talk to the teachers. This year has given him confidence in himself--a real Head Start!"

Tom appears as a bright, warm, active little boy with much promise to cope, to survive, and to come out smiling. With continued encouragement and positive help and direction, he should make it through high school and, as his mother expressed her hopes, "to go on to college to be what he wants to be."

Tom demonstrates trust in his peers and in adults. There seems to be at home and at school understanding, acceptance, and encouragement that have helped foster this.

III PROGRAM CONSIDERATIONS

Although the experience of selected children was the focus of this study, observers also recorded details about the classroom setting and the behavior of teachers and staff within its boundaries. Comments about the functioning of the models and the extent to which Head Start's goals are being met or thwarted form this section.

The Long Trip from Home to School

Geographically, the distances from home to school may be very short; in culture and in communication the distance may be very great. An observer notes: "From the moment I entered the school, I moved from the (Indian) reservation to white America. The only reminders of the reservation were the sixth grade class pictures on the wall, which dated back to 1963, and the darker skin of the Indian teachers and teacher aides. At the end of the room a large bulletin board was covered with a Valentine calendar surrounded by a small February calendar for each child. The playhouse contained the traditional toys, including very blond dolls. The side bulletin board held another large Valentine poster with Cupid and hearts. Here and there about the room were a small slide, two trikes, cardboard blocks (stacked above the reach of the child), wooden trucks and cars, a few books (most of which needed mending), a record player, tape recorder, overhead projector (with a cracked glass), a chart rack, . . . a few puzzles (many of which were incomplete), a full length mirror and a sink. Above the sink were posters of a (white) boy and girl brushing their teeth."

The stories brought to this observer to read to the children were: "The Night Before Christmas," and "Make Way for Ducklings."

Good communication between home and school has not been achieved in most of the centers. There was one notable exception in which the personality of the teacher seemed to make easy communication possible. In this class, parents stayed to visit when they called for their children. If they came in early, the younger siblings were always fed. Pictures of the adults at work in the classroom activities were shown to the children one day; they were also used for a follow-up parent meeting.

Potluck suppers and benefits were arranged frequently. The following is typical of the feeling of this teacher for family members:

> "Jay's older brother comes for him at noon, and he likes us to have Jay ready and waiting. One day we were late, and he was very cross. A few weeks later, the older brother forgot to pick Jay up, and when he came very late, he was embarrassed. I told him: That's all right, we owe you one."

> By contrast, in some other classes, "the observer thanked Mrs. AV for her time and the trouble she went to coming to the center, and asked if she can't stay 'til Joan is ready to go home. No, they are going to have lunch, and the younger children are not allowed to eat at school. She had to be going home to give the two others lunch. Joan would come home on the bus."

> Unresolved by parent conference is this conflicting picture:

> Rowena's mother said that she felt Rowena was doing fine in school. She still likes school very much and does not want to miss it. She plays well outside with lots of friends. Her mother's only complaint is that Rowena talks too much and "she has to shut her up." The teacher says: "Rowena is still very quiet. She has formed friendships with two girls in the class. She seems happy in spite of her not talking and doesn't seem concerned not to be actively involved with the activities."

Unknown to the school was the presence of the father in the home in one setting. The teacher said: "Only his mother is in the house. He does have contact with his father, but his father does not live at home. Jack is proud of his brother who is deaf and going to a special school." A somewhat different picture emerged at home for the observer. Jack's father works all night and sleeps in the daytime. Jack's partially sighted brother attends a special school. When asked if there is any one brother that he likes specially, Jack replied: "I like the one that can't see so good. He go to school in Jessup." Finally, Jack himself was given glasses:

> His mother reported that Jack just got eyeglasses. They are to be worn at school and when watching T.V. His mother reported that he did not want to go to school the past three days because he was afraid that his classmates would tease

him about his glasses. Jack rubs his eyes a good deal during the morning (observer's notes). Later in the record: The teacher did not know that Jack just received glasses.

What Do Children Learn?

Time and again in the records, an aura of excitement about learning and being alive creeps through:

> Now the children discuss the real pineapple that is on the snack table. Donna says, "What's that, a pineapple?" Joan answers, "Course." "There's juice in it?" asks Donna. "Yes," answers Joan. Donna looks puzzled "There's juice in it?" Joan replies affirmatively, but Donna is still puzzled about the prickly fruit. "How you get juice?" she asks Joan. Joan looks serious and ventures a guess, "Get a hole in it?"

In another center:

> A discussion is begun about the items in a carton that the teacher has behind her. "Who remembers what this is?" She holds up a toy cash register. Various children call out answers, as some inch closer to see the item. " . . . and you push it and you get money out of it," shouts Davy, in a voice somewhat louder than the others. He squirms about his place, changing positions, as he calls out replies to the questions posed to the group. Davy leans back against Sadie's chest as the group leader brings out an egg box, tuna can, etc. When the group is shown a box of jello and asked what kind it is, Sadie whispers into Davy's ear. "Cherry," he calls out giggling. "That's right," she replies. Davy smiles broadly, exposing the gap in his mouth where front teeth should be. "Where was the tuna fish before it gets into the can?" the teacher questions. The first to reply, Davy shouts, "Water." "That's right," the teacher replies not looking at him. Again he smiles, falling back against Sadie's chest (pleased with himself). He claps his hands and giggles as he responds to other teacher questions.

Again, one senses a real feeling for children in such comments as:

> We all feel we don't want to hurt any child in any way to make them feel bad when we get through with our project. Our time, we don't have any set time when we have to get through so we just let one project lead into another so that it just tapers off and nobody's hurt or feeling bad. We just get through and go about doing something else and seems like everybody fits in and nobody's hurried.

But the classrooms do not always present children a rich intellectual fare laced with understanding about the ways of being four and five years old:

- The children have received a great deal of drill on all their work through additional work sheets and flashcards, many of which appear to be taken from the workbooks. Could it be that the children receive the worksheets before they do the workbooks (which are sent away for evaluation) and would this account for the few mistakes that appear in the workbooks?

- The Center still has very few pictures of blacks (about three drawings). Children's paintings are now hung, on colored paper, but many are not at a child's eye level. There is some exciting collage and woodwork on view, but few written signs or labels.

- I am still disturbed by the lack of oral language in the classroom. I have not observed any attempt, on either visit, to encourage children to speak in front of their peers or even share stories or ideas with their peers.

- I am concerned that at times the children may be doing their book almost mechanically without gaining an increasing understanding of the concept that is involved. There is so little time spent (based on two-day observation) in enlarging and clarifying concepts of children. The lack of verbal communication in the classroom between teacher and child, child and child, and adult and adult, was disturbing to me. But perhaps these two days were not typical.

Experiences in a midwestern center that might be regarded as negative may actually be good preparation for subsequent classroom expectations. If the children are expected to conform, to sit still for long periods, and to engage in quiet, supervised activities, they will be familiar with these expectations already. According to newspaper clippings, parents

and children have been striking against some of the teachers in the public schools this spring. One of the cases that triggered the strike was a beating of a five-year-old boy by a teacher. The child was hospitalized. Learning school adaptive behavior in Head Start may protect the children until the public school changes.

Efforts to reach out to the community for enrichment can bring little to the children if no articulation takes place.

> Mary is one of the leaders on the way to the store. Several times she is told that if she is not a good leader, she will be replaced. How one becomes a good leader is not articulated. In the "5 and Dime Store" the child looks at the toy department. There is a rule that they may look, but that they may not touch. This becomes too hard for the children at different times. The walk to the store and the store experience seems to have no educational goal. Nothing is purchased in the store; nothing is pointed out to the children, no discussion occurs. The trip to the store seems to be a way to use up class time; a why for this activity does not seem to have been dealt with.

Implementation of the Goals

Many of the classrooms appeared to have a static quality over time. Observers were struck that in some instances the same art work done by the children was hanging on the walls in January and again in May. In one or two rooms there has been an exchange of furniture. Excerpt from the records:

- The room is unchanged, except that there is no dress-up corner. On the table in that area is a machine. The language master sits atop the piano. There is no exhibit on the concept table, so I do not have a clue to the current cognitive program.

- There is not much children's work on the walls of the room. Where an exhibit had been is an Easter basket full of large egg carton flowers tacked up on the wall in a formal arrangement. (This is an observation in late May.)

Another observer noted: "It could have been the next day." Actually the interval between visits was 4 months. "Everything was the same except the temperature."

There were exceptions:

"The physical conditions have changed a great deal since January. The walls have been painted pastel green, pink, and blue. A sandbox has been added, as well as a reorganization of the doll corner. The woodworking area has been moved, and now centers around a proper woodworking bench. There are more wooden blocks, and these are housed in commercially constructed block cabinets. There appears to be more equipment, and many more activities available for the children. Visually, the room looks more conducive to learning through play."

Just what is expected of the teaching staff or others is not always clear, nor is the model fully understood. For example,

- On the way the social worker told me of some of the teacher attitudes toward the pressure to conform to the model. The local person who attempted to indoctrinate the teachers was resisted to some extent. The teachers felt someone was trying to tell them how to teach. She didn't really know what the model was.

- A teacher says, "I have planned group activities every day. It depends on what the children are doing. I feel it's an important part of preschool. According to the model they're supposed to come or not. This is one thing I don't conform to. I insist they stay. Some leave. I never observed Joan leaving the group."

Elsewhere an aide discusses the teacher's role:

"The aide was quite open and willing to talk about the role of the aide. She speaks well and has a good command of the language, as well as educational jargon. She knows the kids, has observed them often, and has spoken with their families. Patricia's concept of the role of the teacher as one who can fill out forms, file and work with children, is a limited concept of the intricacies of teaching. Perhaps, her concept of teaching is based on observation of less than the most skilled of teachers.

"Patricia feels as if she has valid complaints, and that praise is not a satisfactory answer. Commensurate pay would be more agreeable to her. She also feels that she needs job security. She has a certificate from Community College and

has taken courses elsewhere, but is displeased that she has no degree or certificate. It's nice to have but doesn't get you anywhere. She would like to have a goal, and would like that goal to be becoming a teacher. She feels that her present position is a dead end job. On the other hand, she does not really want to attend school. She feels that she knows enough math to know that she isn't being cheated, but that she is too old to deal with mathematics in school, as a student. She indicated that one of the difficulties she has had is in adapting to new ways of functioning with each new teacher that comes to the center.

"Patricia is also concerned with the large numbers of white teachers who are teaching black children. 'We raise our children differently, and who knows more about our children than us?' As regards the aide organization: 'People chicken out when they have to be counted upon.' 'They are fearful for their jobs.'"

In other centers, equally positive comments are offered by the observers or the participants.

- I was impressed by the personal growth and understanding of the teacher aide who seems to have developed the ability to operate with the children using the program materials at a much higher level than on the first visit.

- I am sure that these mothers are finding out that teaching is no easy task. I always used to think that teacher had an easy job, but not after that first few months I spent with the children I just changed my mind completely. I was all wrong. It just wears you out. This type of teaching is very hard. When you have to be a mother it seems you have to be watching children every moment you are here.

- Our teacher is depending on us just as much as he himself doing the job. So he can trust us in these areas. We are just fortunate to be in a place like this. We are a team here and each of us have a role to play and I think each of us is playing our position so well that others don't need to come in to help us. We don't need help from them because we are doing our job and it just goes smooth and when it goes forth, we cover all areas.

Summary

The observers noted unclear slippage in school/home communication, role definitions for teachers and aides, a "stagnation" of the physical surroundings, a lack of real identification with the models, and cultural gaps between the home and the class. They also saw an aura of excitement about learning and being alive, personal development of staff, and a real feeling for children.

During this first year of Planned Variation, areas where more is needed before Head Start classes are typically exemplars of what is best in preschool education were more salient than areas where Head Start programs typically represent those high ideals. The difference may seem less salient to the little boy who, not knowing where the others were going but aware that he was not, struggled to hold back his tears.

GPO 913-474